

**Scott on the German Stage:  
Reinhard Goering's *Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scott***

**Hanne Nielsen**

**Supervised by Dr Elizabeth Leane**

**PCAS 14  
2011/12**

**Scott on the German Stage:**  
**Reinhard Goering's *Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scott***

Much has been written about Robert F. Scott as an English barometer,<sup>1</sup> but little attention has been given to foreign views of the man or to relevant texts in other languages. This essay will examine Reinhard Goering's 1930 play *Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scott*, a German Expressionist work based on Captain Scott's 1911-12 expedition to the South Pole. With Goering's play, Scott's story was put on the public stage for the first time.<sup>2</sup> There is a shortage of literature in the English language on this text and on German perspectives on exploration of the South Pole in general. German literary criticism is also thin on the ground, with most works focusing on Goering's earlier play *Seeschlacht* (1918). Scott's journals were available in German, but were not accompanied by the same cultural aura of awe as in Scott's homeland. For German audiences of the Weimar Republic the idea of sacrifice remained attractive in a time of austerity post World War I, while national pride was of less importance. German perspectives were also different from British ones due to social and political differences and a greater remoteness from events.

---

<sup>1</sup> Stephen J. Pyne, 'Heart of Whiteness: The Exploration of Antarctica' in *Environmental Review*, Vol. 10, No. 4, (Winter 1986). 231.

<sup>2</sup> Although Vladimir Nabokov wrote his play *The Pole* in 1924, the piece was not performed for over half a century.

In this current period of anniversaries of arrivals at the Pole it is particularly appropriate to examine Goering's play. With the text itself as a focal point, this essay will put the work in context, introducing the writer and placing him within the landscape of German Expressionist drama. An analysis of the play reveals recurrent themes such as destiny, heroism and nationalism, while examining reviews, revivals and adaptations along with an unperformed satyr play, designed to accompany the work, can help to gauge public reactions. Such investigation gives greater historical depth to the history of responses to Scott, whilst offering new insights into how Scott's final expedition was viewed by foreign contemporaries.

### **Contexts for Goering's Play: National, Literary, Historical, Biographical**

Within England, Scott has been transformed into a mythical figure. Initially seen as a 'martyred national hero' but later denigrated as 'a bungler, a martinet and, ultimately, a failure,'<sup>3</sup> he has captured the public imagination like few other historical figures. Attitudes towards the man have 'reflect[ed] the contemporary state of British self-esteem' across several generations and have varied greatly. Ideas of morality, masculinity and self-sacrifice were initially attached to Scott and his party, with Scott's writings and story used in the trenches during WWII to inspire soldiers to emulate the sacrifice of the explorer and his men, particularly Captain Lawrence Oates. In the context of a world war, Scott's death was seen as a 'heroic sacrifice.'<sup>4</sup> This mythologisation of Scott is a distinctly English phenomenon and the construction of Scott as 'one of the first of the modern newspaper celebrities'<sup>5</sup> is likewise strongly related to pride in the British Empire.

---

<sup>3</sup> Stephanie Barczewski, *Antarctic destinies: Scott, Shackleton, and the changing face of heroism*, London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007. xii.

<sup>4</sup> Barczewski, *Antarctic destinies*. 116.

<sup>5</sup> Jane Stafford, 'Captain Scott and A.E.W Mason's *The Turnstile*' in *Imagining Antarctica*, ed Ralph Crane, Elizabeth Leane and Mark Williams, Tasmania: Quintus Publishing, 2011. 54.

The negative backlash against Scott from the 1960s onwards also belongs to the English tradition. Post World War II, questions were already being raised about what constituted a hero,<sup>6</sup> and Roland Huntford's dual Biography *Scott and Amundsen* (1979) brought things to a head. His description of Scott as 'a heroic bungler' who 'personified ... glorious failure'<sup>7</sup> quickly replaced the earlier myth of the sacrificial hero. A visitor to the 'South' exhibition on Antarctic exploration in 2001<sup>8</sup> summed up the situation: 'Heroes' reputations will inevitably change as fashions change.'<sup>9</sup> Only in England was Scott held up as such a hero, and only in England was his legacy so viciously attacked, with the changing attitudes reflecting 'the contemporary state of British self-esteem.'<sup>10</sup>

Scott was socially connected to many writers and artists. His wife Kathleen was herself an artist and Scott had close ties to J.M Barrie of *Peter Pan* fame, yet prominent British modernist writers of the period engaged only glancingly with Antarctic exploration.<sup>11</sup> The same was not true, however, of German-speaking authors. Prominent writers who dealt with the topic of The Ice include Georg Heym with *Das Tagebuch Shkeltons* and *Die Südpolfahrer* (1911) and Stefan Zweig with *Der Kampf um den Südpol* (1927). Both also belonged to the school of German Expressionism.

German Expressionism is a modernist movement that spanned the years immediately prior to WWI to the postwar period. Artists, writers and playwrights were reacting against realism and works often focussed on inner landscapes. In theatre, this saw monologues used to illustrate the isolation of humanity and the paring back of plot as a device to put decisions at the fore.<sup>12</sup> Switching between short utterances and long monologues was another signature of the movement.<sup>13</sup> Abstraction is a common feature of Expressionist plays, with

---

<sup>6</sup> Max Jones, 'From "Noble Example" to "Potty Pioneer": rethinking Scott of the Antarctic, c.1945–2011' in *The Polar Journal*, 1.2, (November 2011). 197.

<sup>7</sup> Barczewski, *Antarctic destinies*. 258.

<sup>8</sup> National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, September 2000- September 2001.

<sup>9</sup> Barczewski, *Antarctic destinies*. xv.

<sup>10</sup> Pyne, 'Heart of Whiteness'. 231.

<sup>11</sup> Stephen J. Pyne, *The Ice: A journey to Antarctica*, Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1986. 155.

<sup>12</sup> J.M. Richie, *German Expressionist Drama*, Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1976. 22.

<sup>13</sup> Richie, *German Expressionist Drama*. 94.

a focus not on projecting an illusion of reality onto the stage but on the essence of the matter.<sup>14</sup> This forced the audience 'to see the actor, the set, the stage, the theatre'<sup>15</sup> for the first time. Expressionist theater sees the actor not as mimetic but as an agency of expression,<sup>16</sup> through which themes such as spiritual awakening can be explored. Conflict with the powers of fate was another common theme.

Expressionism was followed by 'Die Neue Sachlichkeit', a movement that came to the fore during the Weimar republic. John Willet suggests 'Die Neue Sachlichkeit', or 'New Objectivity', be seen as 'an offshoot of German Expressionism as well as a reaction against it... what had changed was not so much the principles and formal innovations arrived at from 1910 onwards as the spirit in which they were applied.'<sup>17</sup> The Theater of 'Die Neue Sachlichkeit' is characterized by a more practical engagement with one's surroundings and is a reaction against the pathos of Expressionism. Works often comment on contemporary issues and call for more intellectual engagement, presenting scenes in a cool and distanced way.

Although he is primarily known as an Expressionist writer, Goering bridges the gap between German Expressionism and New Objectivity. Jochen Richter sees his first play *Seeschlacht* as an example of Expressionism and last play *Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scott* as an example of 'Die Neue Sachlichkeit',<sup>18</sup> although the latter contain elements of both movements. Themes of suicide, sacrifice and self-determination are common to both works, leading one critic to argue that for Goering 'heroic sacrifice in service to one's country represents but a socially acceptable outlet for gratifying the death-urge.'<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 234.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 226.

<sup>17</sup> Richie, *German Expressionist Drama*. 227.

<sup>18</sup> Jochen Richter, 'Reinhard Goering' in *Twentieth-Century German Dramatists, 1889-1918*. Ed. Wolfgang Elfe and James N. Hardin. Detroit: Gale Research, 1992. Dictionary of Literary Biography Vol. 118. *Literature Resource Center*. Web. 30 Jan. 2012. 20.

<sup>19</sup> Robert Chapman Davis, *Final Mutiny: Reinhard Goering, His Life and Art*, New York: Peter Lang, 1987. 403.

Born 23 June 1887 in Hessen, Goering committed suicide in Jena just over 49 years later. Putting together the pieces of his life is painstaking as he often burnt manuscripts and letters and urged those to whom he wrote to do the same. With his own father having committed suicide while he was a boy, and his mother's mental instability resulting in his being sent away to school at age ten, Goering was plagued throughout his life by a constant feeling of homelessness and lack of belonging. He was, in the words of his own character, '...nirgends recht am rechtem Platz...' <sup>20</sup> [never quite at the right place]. His atypical and sometimes provocative dress sense was described by many contemporaries and he was often seen in winter in just a thin shirt and sandals. <sup>21</sup> Although he embarked on parallel careers as a doctor and a poet, neither was successful, and his personal life was eventful and sometimes turbulent: he fathered four children to two women, and was committed to a mental institution at one point because of his unorthodox medical practices. The one geographical location that stands out as significant in Goering's life is the Swiss town of Davos, where *Seeschlacht* was written and where he later returned to finish *Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scott*.

After his death, little was written about Goering for many years. <sup>22</sup> During the Nazi period *Seeschlacht* was denounced for its theme of mutiny and *Die Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scotts* condemned for its praise of England. Post World War II Goering's early association with the Nazi party meant that any revival of his work was not seen as desirable, <sup>23</sup> while the fact he shared a surname with a prominent Nazi war criminal put many people off investigating his work. It was not until performances in the late 1950s and 1960s that a renewed interest in Goering appeared.

Goering wrote a total of seven plays along with one novel, several poems and a libretto for an opera. It was the theatrical works he gained recognition for, with

---

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., Quote from Goering's 'Johanna Schönpkopf'.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 184

<sup>22</sup> Dorothy Sue Martin, *The Life and Literature of Reinhard Goering; A Study in Contradictions*, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1969. 14.

<sup>23</sup> Davis, *Final Mutiny: Reinhard Goering, His Life and Art*. 11.

his first staged work *Seeschlacht* winning the Schiller Prize in 1922.<sup>24</sup> The best known of Goering's works, *Seeschlacht* is a play about the battle of Jutland,<sup>25</sup> a sea battle between the German and English fleets that took place in World War I. There is little action, with the plot centering on the conversations of five sailors who attempt to make sense of their existence and are eventually killed in battle. This play illustrates how Goering 'accepted war as something fated and inevitable, and even saw in defeat an occasion for exercising manly virtues - courage, self control and self-denial.'<sup>26</sup> Almost a decade later he was awarded the Kleist prize<sup>27</sup> for his last play, *Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scott*. Both deal with modern themes told in the style of an antique tragedy.

*Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scott* is based on Scott's account of events. After being given copies of Scott's diaries by Grete Höger in 1928, Goering became engrossed in his project based on the polar party and spent days in bed, reading and composing.<sup>28</sup> In November that year he went back to Davos, where *Seeschlacht* was written, to work on his 'Pol' play that he finally finished in August 1929.<sup>29</sup> The play was published in two forms: as *Pol: Spiel in drei Teilen* by Arcadia Verlag Berlin then as *Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scott* by Propyläen Verlag.<sup>30</sup> The Propyläen Verlag edition included an explanation of his return to theatre writing after ten years, detailing his crisis of self-doubt and existential fear. The play itself touches on this fear, exploring the existential significance of coming too late.

---

<sup>24</sup> Davis, *Final Mutiny: Reinhard Goering, His Life and Art*. 117. The Schiller prize was a prestigious award named for the famous German poet and philosopher Friedrich Schiller. Goering shared the 1922 Schiller prize with Fritz von Unruh for *Ein Geschlecht*.

<sup>25</sup> The battle is known in German as the *Skagerrakschlacht*

<sup>26</sup> William W. Melnitz, 'Aspects of War and Revolution in the Theater and Film of the Weimar Republic' *Hollywood Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Summer 1948), pp. 372-378. 3.

<sup>27</sup> Awarded annually from 1912 to 1933, the Kleist prize was the most prestigious literary award during the Weimar Republic.

<sup>28</sup> Davis, *Final Mutiny: Reinhard Goering, His Life and Art*. 211.

<sup>29</sup> Davis, *Final Mutiny: Reinhard Goering, His Life and Art*. 214.

<sup>30</sup> Davis, *Final Mutiny: Reinhard Goering, His Life and Art*. 216.

## Thematic Preoccupations of *Südpolexpedition*

As its initial title suggests, *Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scott* is a play in three parts. It represents a fusion of traditional and modern elements, with the three-part tragedy and chorus belonging to the ancient Grecian tradition, while the technique of using audience members as characters is distinctly Brechtian.<sup>31</sup> Each section is introduced by the chorus before the actors perform the narrated story, meaning that the outcome, and therefore the characters' destiny, is known in advance. Goering wrote the sections to be performed in chronological order, with Part I based on finding the Pole, Part II based on the journey home and the men's demise and Part III dealing with the reception in Hobart, Tasmania, of Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen, whose team reached the Pole about a month before Scott. Director Leopold Jessner's staging of the play's premiere in Berlin on February 16 1930 was unique as he played Part III before Part II, saving Oates' sacrifice and the death of the men for the end and leaving the audience faced with the emotionally charged scene of the men facing their destinies. Goering's original order was more focused on the journey than the destination, linking it nicely to explorer Richard Byrd's description of Antarctica: 'the Pole lay in the centre of a limitless plain... One gets there, and that is about all there is for the telling. It is the effort to get there that counts'<sup>32</sup> Indeed, according to Goering, when faced with one's destiny it is *only* the effort that counts.

The idea of destiny is a central theme in the play and one that renders plot almost unnecessary. What is important is not what happens but how the characters react as the inevitable unfolds. References to 'Schicksal' are frequent, with the fate of the characters established in the opening scene:

*'Am 11. März wird er an Scott und Bowers/ Je dreißig Morphiumtabletten verteilen... Ein paar Tage später aber wird man beschließen/ Bis ans Ende auszuhalten/ Und eines natürlichen Todes zu sterben'*<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Davis, *Final Mutiny: Reinhard Goering, His Life and Art*. 217.

<sup>32</sup> Pyne, 'Heart of Whiteness'. 238.

<sup>33</sup> Reinhard Goering, *Prosa, Dramen, Verse*, Munich: Georg Müller Verlag, 1961. 507.



[On the 11<sup>th</sup> of March he would give to Scott and Bowers thirty morphine tablets each... A few days later they would decide to hold out to the end and die a natural death].

That this death does eventuate is clear, as Evans is introduced as *'Der stärkste Mann,/ Der zuerst unterliegt/ Und als erster auf der Rückmarsch stirbt'*<sup>34</sup> [the strongest man who succumbed first and was the first to die on the return march]. Similarly, Scott is the leader *'Der sie bis zum Pol führt/ Und bis zwanzig Kilometer vor das Eintonnenlager zurück/ Dort zuletzt stirbt'*<sup>35</sup> [who leads them to the Pole and back to within twenty kilometers of One Ton Depot where he is the last to die]. A flashback scene early on in Part I foreshadows these events and reinforces the fact that the characters' fate is already determined. Scott's friend Tompson gives the leader advice back in London, warning that

*'Wer ins unbekannte auszieht/ Stirbt dauernd,/ Und kurz vorm Ziel am meisten... Niemand entgeht dem Schicksal./ Weder Rat noch Warnung ändern, was dir bestimmt ist'*<sup>36</sup>

[He who goes into the unknown dies perpetually, and mostly not far from one's goal... No one escapes his destiny. Neither advice nor warning can change what is sure to happen to you].

Despite Tompson's warning, the party's deaths will still unfold because to die on The Ice is their destiny.

This theme continues through sections II and III of the play, with the chorus chanting *'Gewaltiges Schicksal! Wilder Menschenwille!'*<sup>37</sup> [Mighty destiny! Fierce human will!] as Oates goes to his death. Not even Amundsen is immune to the idea, as illustrated when he is confronted by an astrologer with a prediction for his death. He responds that it is good news to know you will fall from your peak:

*'Denn auf der Höhe ihrer Laufbahn fallen,/ In schnellem Sturz,/ War immer der Götterlieblinge Schicksal./ Wehe nur dem, der kein Schicksal hat.'*<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Goering, *Prosa, Dramen, Verse*. 508.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 509.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 513.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 539.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 559.

['To fall from the height of their careers in a quick tumble was always the fate of those loved by gods. Woe only to him who has no destiny']

The last line of the play '*Wehe dem, der kein Schicksal hat!/ Wehe dem Wahn, der sich eins machen will!*'<sup>39</sup> [Woe to he that has no destiny! Woe to he who wants to make one'] again underlines how little choice the characters have in the matter. Interestingly, it was in fact Scott who died at the height of his career, not Amundsen. In Scott's native England the 'heroic failure' obsession is associated primarily with the Victorian and Edwardian periods, but in Germany the heroism of failure was much celebrated towards end of Expressionist era<sup>40</sup> and relates to the idea of sacrifice. This idea may be what attracted Goering to the story and led him to quote from Scott's diaries verbatim, as 'death and the fatalistic acceptance of death' are the 'only absolutes' in both *Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scott* and other of his plays, such as *Seeschlacht* and *Scapa Flow*.<sup>41</sup>

Sacrifice and nationalism are closely linked in the story of Scott, as he was later held up as a hero who died for his country. As neither a British nor Norwegian national, Goering was in a position to critique the nationalism displayed by both nations during the 'race to the Pole.' The fact that Amundsen is a character in a play named for 'Captain Scott' is significant; other contemporary dramatic representations of Scott (Vladimir Nabokov's *The Pole* (1924) and Douglas Stewart's *Fire on the Snow* (1944)) focus solely on Scott. Including both men meant ideas of nationalism were brought to the fore as each demonstrated a great deal of pride in his own country. In Part I Amundsen's men ask him to recount the words he spoke whilst planting the flag at the South Pole and he replies thus:

*'So pflanzen wir dich, liebe Flagge, am Südpol und geben der Ebene, auf der du liegst, den Namen König-Haakon-VII-Land. Und dabei weinte ich.'*<sup>42</sup>

[ 'So we plant you, dear flag, at the South Pole and give the area upon which you lie the name King Haakon VII Land'. And as I did so I cried.]

---

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 560.

<sup>40</sup> Joachim Metzner, *Persönlichkeitzerstörung und Weltuntergang* Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1976. 103.

<sup>41</sup> Martin, *The Life and Literature of Reinhard Goering; A Study in Contradictions*. 17.

<sup>42</sup> Goering, *Prosa, Dramen, Verse*. 517.

He later talks of his homeland using very patriotic and evocative language, proclaiming *'Mir brennt der Fuß, das liebe Norwegen wieder zu betreten. Die Heimat. Mich lüstert nach dem Duft des Vaterlandes'*<sup>43</sup> [My feet are burning to stand once more upon Norwegian soil. The Homeland. I lust for the smell of the Fatherland]. Such desires are repeated in Part III in the somewhat bizarre lines *'O liebe Heimat, Norwegen, o Vaterland... wie riecht dort alles gut,/ Selbst Kuhmist, vermischt mit Staub und Sonne'*<sup>44</sup> [O dear homeland,/ Norway, o Fatherland... everything smells so good there/ even cow manure, mixed with dust and sun]. When coupled with Goering's unperformed satyr play (described in more detail below), lines such as the praise to cow manure ask questions about how far one should go with pride in one's country. In this case such pride led to the death of Scott, with his last words in the play *'England! England!'*<sup>45</sup> demonstrating the extreme patriotism that means Scott is willing to die for his country.<sup>46</sup> Goering continues the idea of patriotic rivalry into Part II, which opens with the chorus talking of blood: *'Blut bindet. Blut entzweit'*<sup>47</sup> [Blood binds, blood divides]. Both Scott and Amundsen are European, yet they are divided by being nationals of different countries.

This idea of blood leads on to the theme of sacrifice later in the choral introduction to Part II:

*'O blutiges Europa!/ Auch hier auf weißem Altar verschwendest du  
Leben./Opferst ist eifernd,/ Unangetastet im Geheimnis./ Und doch:  
Europäer sein, welcher Ruhm!'*<sup>48</sup>

[O bloody Europe, even here on the white altar you waste life. Sacrifice is striven for, untouched in mystery. And yet, to be European! What glory!]

---

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 517.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 557.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 545.

<sup>46</sup> Marion Munz-Krines, *Expeditionen ins Eis: Historische Polarreisen in der Literatur*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008.136. The idea of nationalism is echoed in another German work from 1927, Stefan Zweig's novel *Der Kampf um den Südpol*, where *'dem Mut des einzelnen gesellt sich die Rivalität der Nationen'* [The courage of the individual consorts with the rivalry of the nations]. As another writer who bridged the gap between Expressionism and Neue Sachlichkeit, it is worth noting Zweig's interest in Scott's story.

<sup>47</sup> Goering, *Prosa, Dramen, Verse*. 522.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 523.

Instead of painting Scott as a heroic British figure, Goering focuses more on the idea of sacrifice and the glory of being European. Post World War I, the theme of sacrifice was familiar to European audiences and the line 'Auch hier auf weißem Altar verschwendest du Leben' can be seen as a reference to the European sacrifice that had occurred between the time of Scott's journey and the play being written, with the 'auch' putting the deaths of the explorers in the same category as the deaths of wartime soldiers who died for their countries. The chorus expands on the theme by comparing the men's plight to that of a scorpion in a ring of fire:

*So der Skorpion, im Feurkreis gefangen,/ Zückt gegen die eigene Brust den Stachel/ Und stirbt lieber, als daß er Gewalt duldet.*<sup>49</sup>

[The scorpion, trapped in a ring of fire, stabs his barb into his own breast and dies rather than tolerate the violence]

The example of the scorpion instinctively being master of his own death is then contrasted with the human situation: '*Der Mensch allein opfert Unendliches,/ Wenn er sich opfert*'<sup>50</sup> [Man alone suffers infinitely when he sacrifices himself]. Unlike the animals that have a reflex action, the human is aware of his own condition and therefore must take responsibility for his actions. This links to the central idea of the play, namely that events and situations are less important than the way people react to them. Goering's Scott sums it up well in the line '*Ich fühle die Blicke der Welt auf unsere Zelt gerichtet./ Es ist nicht gleichgültig, was wir tun. Niemals.*'<sup>51</sup> [I feel the eyes of the world upon our tent. It is not immaterial what we do. Never.] Oates makes a conscious decision to leave the tent and die, Scott makes a conscious decision to hold out and die a natural death. Death is a non-negotiable factor but the way they face it is not. Neither man acts out of instinct: conscious of the results of their actions, both have made choices and they are therefore both masters of how their destinies come about.

The story of Oates is another example of sacrifice that is recreated in the play. Oates' debilitated state leaves two tragic alternatives that would both bring death, either of Oates should the other party members leave, or of all four men –

---

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 528.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 528.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 540.

effective suicide for the three healthier ones – should they choose to stay at his side. In Goering's version of events Oates is aware of his situation and sees himself as a martyr. He speaks the famous last lines attributed to him by Scott, telling the others he is going outside and may be some time, but these are not the last words he speaks in the play. Instead, Oates ends with the lines:

*'O Du, der Du das Opfer forderst,/ Rette die Freunde. Rette die Gefährten!/  
Rette Europas süße Wunder/ Und seine Ehre und seine Glauben.'*<sup>52</sup>

[O, thou who demands this sacrifice, save my friends, save my comrades!

Save Europe's sweet wonder and her honour and belief.]

Aware he is already dying, Oates sees his suicide as an act that may save his companions. By choosing to exit the tent, Oates also gains a sense of triumph over his fate.<sup>53</sup> Interestingly, Oates' death in the snow is not the only such suicide Goering wrote of. In his 1928 tale *Die Braut* the bridegroom fails to find redemption in love and also lies down in the snow to die. These scenes link to Goering's own belief that 'suicide was the ultimate proof of the autonomy of the individual,'<sup>54</sup> and parallel the author's own death.

Death is what elevated the men of Scott's party to hero status within England, where they were celebrated as men who died for their country. This construction of the polar party as national heroes is usually tied to an old-fashioned, out-dated, Victorian or Edwardian cultural framework. As both a modernist and a foreigner Goering approaches the Scott story differently, focusing on the idea of sacrifice without designating Scott a hero and gently ridiculing ideas of nationalism by taking them to the extreme. Ideas of heroism are present in the play but not necessarily endorsed by it. The most notable example occurs when Amundsen is welcomed into the port of Hobart by the Mayor of the city thus: *'Heil jedem Land, das solche Söhne hat,/ Die Ruhm ihm bringen/ Ohne Unrecht'*<sup>55</sup> [Praise the country that produces such sons who bring it fame without injustice]. The Harbour Master adds to this, welcoming Amundsen in the name of England and asking him to stop in London in his way home, as *'Die größten Ehren warten*

---

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 542.

<sup>53</sup> Martin, *The Life and Literature of Reinhard Goering; A Study in Contradictions*. 19.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 212.

<sup>55</sup> Goering, *Prosa, Dramen, Verse*. 555.

*dort auf Sie*<sup>56</sup> [The greatest Honours wait there for you]. In fact reactions in England to Amundsen's return were more complicated, with admiration for the Norwegian achievement tempered by national disappointment and a feeling that Amundsen had 'offended against British views of sportsmanship.'<sup>57</sup> It is unlikely that a British dramatic production, had it been possible at the time, would have ended with a victorious Amundsen on stage.

The use of Expressionist methods allowed Goering to present heroism differently, and to use both Scott and Amundsen to do so. Given that Goering aims not to project an illusion of reality but to communicate the essence of an event, historical accuracy is relatively unimportant. To help communicate this essence, several elements in the staging of the play are used to break the barrier between the audience and the stage. This is established in the introduction, where the chorus speaks directly to Oates, urging him to turn his head so the audience can see him better: *'Dreh einmal deinen Kopf, Oates, damit die Zuschauer dich besser sehen kann.'*<sup>58</sup> This is not Oates but an actor playing Oates and in true Expressionist style the play makes no secret of the fact. Towards the end of Part I the characters disappear from view and two women in the gallery take over, offering a commentary from their seats:

*'Ich habe ein Glas und kann sie deutlich erkennen. Ich werde Ihnen sagen, was ich sehe... Die Norweger sind ihnen vorgekommen, Amundsen ist der erste am Pol.'*<sup>59</sup>

[I have binoculars and can see them clearly. I will tell you what I can see...

The Norwegians arrived before them. Amundsen is the first to the Pole.]

The use of such techniques allows Goering to add in commentary to explain historical events. After Scott reaches the Pole Goering includes the line *'O Europa! So mordet dir den Zweiten der Erste/ Und nun die eine Frage bleibt: wer tötet den?'*<sup>60</sup> [O Europe! Thus the first one kills the second one. And now just one question remains: Who kills you?] This question, aimed at Amundsen, coupled

---

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 555.

<sup>57</sup> Francis Spufford, *I May Be Some Time: Ice and the English Imagination*, London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1996. 250.

<sup>58</sup> Goering, *Prosa, Dramen, Verse*. 508.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 520.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 526.

with the inclusion of an astrologer who predicts Amundsen's death, was also a contemporary commentary of sorts, as Amundsen had recently gone missing over the North Pole at the time the play premiered. It is also worth noting that, despite being based on Captain Scott's diaries, the play does diverge from reality when presenting scenes from outside the scope of Scott's record. For example, the portrayal of Lady Scott at the Hobart docks as the *Fram* arrives is not historically accurate as she was in fact still in Europe in early 1912. Given that the play was not intended to be mimetic, such errors are of little consequence for Goering but did ruffle the feathers of many in England, including Kathleen Scott.

### **Reactions and Afterlives: Reviews, Revivals, Postscripts, Adaptations**

Examining reviews of the premiere of *Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scott* clearly illustrates the different ways the play was viewed in the 1930s. In Germany the play was approached as a piece of theatre rather than a representation of an actual expedition. German reviewers were more concerned with the quality of writing and issues around staging and the fact that it was based on a recent historical event was not as relevant. The English reviewers approached the text as either a 'great tribute' or grossly inappropriate, but either way the reviewers were interested in the play because of its subject and the fact that it dealt with their national hero. Much of the coverage of the play in the English media was in fact not reviews at all, but accounts of the reactions of Scott's fellow crewmen and his wife, Kathleen Scott, to the existence of the play.

On the whole German critics welcomed Goering's return to the stage after a decade of silence, with Paul Fechner's retort that 'es wäre besser gewesen, er hätte weiter geschwiegen'<sup>61</sup> [it would have better if he had continued to keep quiet] an anomaly. Reviewer Herbert Ihering pronounced the premiere a success,<sup>62</sup> and while other critics raised issues with the staging, all came to the consensus that Goering's text was well written. The director Jessner, known for his experimental works, came to the fore in several reviews of the premiere.

---

<sup>61</sup> Davis, *Final Mutiny: Reinhard Goering, His Life and Art*. 269.

<sup>62</sup> Herbert Ihering, 'Berliner Börsen-Courier' [Review] in *Theater für die Republik 1917-1933: Im Spiegel der Kritik*, Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1967. 1010.

There were mixed reviews of Jessner's staging of Goering's Part III before Part II, with Ihring concluding that 'Nur so blieb der Form geschlossen und der Eindruck streng' [Only in this way can the structure be closed and the impression strong].<sup>63</sup> Others, such as Norbert Falk of the *BZ am Mittag*, described the reversal of the sections as a 'dramaturgischen Fehlgriff'<sup>64</sup> [dramaturgical mistake]. Falk felt that the chance of an optimistic ending disappeared with Jessner's staging of the men's deaths last and saw the final section as 'einfach nicht spielbar'<sup>65</sup> [simply not performable].

Dramaturgical issues were addressed rather unfavourably by other reviewers, including Arthur Eloesser of the *Vossische Zeitung*. He begins by proclaiming that Goering's work is not a good play when looked at from the point of view of dramatic qualities and the stage. He did not connect with the characters, did not feel their hunger or their cold, largely because of the excessive narrating of the story. He claims that freezing is not a plot, asking 'Wo ist das Drama? Ich finde es nicht'<sup>66</sup> [Where is the drama? I don't see it]. Eloesser does concede that despite the dramatic shortcomings and lack of plot he hears 'die Stimme eines Dichters.'<sup>67</sup> Ihring also makes the link to poetry, describing the play as 'ein Drama im Übergang vom Theater zur Dichtung'<sup>68</sup> [a play crossing over from theater to poetry].

The lack of plot and focus on language and inner landscapes is typical of German Expressionism and something a German audience would have been familiar with at the time. It is this idea that Ernst Heilbronn used to justify awarding the Kleist Prize to Goering for the work, claiming 'Es schafft aus der Eiswüste der Polarregion seelische Landschaft'<sup>69</sup> [It creates an emotional landscape out of the icy polar desert]. The theme of death within this emotional landscape is also

---

<sup>63</sup> Davis, *Final Mutiny: Reinhard Goering, His Life and Art*. 224.

<sup>64</sup> Norbert Falk, 'BZ am Mittag' [Review] in *Theater für die Republik 1917-1933: Im Spiegel der Kritik*, Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1967. 1011.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 1011.

<sup>66</sup> Eloesser, Arthur, 'Vossische Zeitung' [Review] in *Theater für die Republik 1917-1933: Im Spiegel der Kritik*, Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1967. 1014.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 1014.

<sup>68</sup> Ihring, *Berliner Börsen-Courier* [Review]. 1010.

<sup>69</sup> Günter Rühle, *Theater für die Republik 1917-1933: Im Spiegel der Kritik*, Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1967. 1008.



touched on by reviewers. Falk described the play as a song about the deterioration of a group of people condemned to die, commenting that Müthel in the role of Oates was not nuanced enough to display the physical and emotional pain associated with the character's death.<sup>70</sup> Ihering defines the value of the play, describing it as 'eine Tragödie, hinter der die Einsamkeit eines großen Gefühls steht und die deshalb wertvoll ist'<sup>71</sup> [a tragedy, behind which stands great loneliness and which is therefore to be valued].

English reviews focus less on issues of staging, with thematic and dramatic concerns secondary to contemporary reactions to the work's existence. While some include the observation that Scott's disappointment is stressed too much and that the actors are too limp, articles with titles such as 'Captain Scott Play Raises Indignation'<sup>72</sup> and 'Scott's Widow Angry at Play About Him'<sup>73</sup> were more common and much was made of Kathleen Scott's reaction. *The Daily Chronicle* quotes Scott's eldest sister as saying Kathleen's 'grievance is that those responsible have not communicated with her at all.'<sup>74</sup> The same article quotes Lieutenant-Commander L. C. Bernacchi, member of the *Discovery* expedition, asking 'what right has a man who knows nothing of the Antarctic, and has not troubled to consult those of us in England who do, to write a play about this great tragedy?'<sup>75</sup> This objection was largely a reaction to the lack of realism in the play, something Goering was not concerned about as it was an Expressionist drama. Kathleen Scott's letter to the Editor of *The Times* of 11 November 1932 also details her personal concerns, namely that 'the manner in which incidents in life are dramatized, and persons still living are represented, wholly unsuits it for contemporary performance.'<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup> Falk, *BZ am Mittag* [Review]. 1013.

<sup>71</sup> Ihering, *Berliner Börsen-Courier* [Review]. 1009.

<sup>72</sup> Anon, 'Capt. Scott Play Raises Indignation: His Widow To See it in Berlin. Antarctic Epic. Produced Without her Consent' in *The Daily Chronicle*, 1 March 1930. Reviews in English are collected in a scrapbook held in the Scott Polar Research Institute, which does not always provide page numbers or even titles.

<sup>73</sup> P.L.M. 'Scott's Widow Angry at Play About Him' in *The Daily Herald*, 11 November 1932.

<sup>74</sup> Anon, *The Daily Chronicle*.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Anon, 'The Captain Scott Play in Berlin' in *The Times* 28 Feb 1930.

In 1930 Kathleen Scott was one of these 'persons still living'. The events were still recent history, meaning only an outsider could tell the story. The *Sunday Express* remarked that 'Dignified though it is, Grecian though it be in its epic tragedy, it is a play which could not be produced in England until several generations had come and gone'.<sup>77</sup> This was because of family opposition to any dramatisation of the journey within England. This power of veto did not extend overseas, which was recognized later in the review. After comparing Scott to Napoleon, the review asserts that 'The Germans have paid Scott a great tribute, but I would rather they had left the tribute unsaid.'<sup>78</sup> This idea of a tribute echoed a review in *The Observer* entitled 'Scott's last journey. A South Pole Drama in Berlin', in which it was claimed that 'no finer tribute has been paid to England by Germany for a long time than the production under Jessner, at the State Theatre, this week, of the three-act drama "South Pole Expedition of Captain Scott."<sup>79</sup> The Anglophonic focus on the play as a tribute to an Englishman is clear in both reviews. The English audience was concerned with the historical story, not with themes or putting the play in context within Expressionist theatre. This is underlined by the fact that there was talk of staging an English adaptation of the play but omitting the character of Kathleen Scott,<sup>80</sup> meaning that appeasing those the play was based on was more important than faithfully reproducing the work.

Despite widespread discussion of the possibility, a staging of the play in England never did take place. Following its 16 February 1930 premiere in Berlin, *Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scott* was also staged in Würzburg and Darmstadt.<sup>81</sup> Both subsequent productions performed the sections in the order Goering had written them and Goering preferred the performance in Darmstadt to that in Berlin, describing it as 'das Beste, was ich gesehen habe, und eine ganze Stufe über Berlin' [The best I have seen and quite a step up from Berlin].<sup>82</sup>

---

<sup>77</sup> Anon, *Sunday Express*, 2 Mar 1930.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Anon, 'Scott's Last Journey. A South Pole Drama in Berlin' in *The Observer*, 23 February 1930.

<sup>80</sup> P.L.M. 'Scott's Widow Angry at Play About Him'.

<sup>81</sup> Richter, 'Reinhard Goering'.

<sup>82</sup> Davis, *Final Mutiny: Reinhard Goering, His Life and Art*. 268.

The play was not performed again for over a decade, largely because the Nazi regime, which came to power in 1933, saw it as undesirable to paint English men in a positive light. The next recorded performances took place at the Jungendbühne Oldenburg on April 5 1949; this was followed by others at Remscheid on November 20 1952 and the Theater am Kurfürstendamm in Berlin on January 19 1958.<sup>83</sup> Goering's famous play *Seeschlacht* was staged again in September 1960 at the Landestheater Hannover and this performance helped to spark a renewed interest in Goering's works within academia.<sup>84</sup> Within the theatre world *Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scott* was largely forgotten in the later twentieth century, with the Eisenlacher Landestheater's performance of October 15 1982 being the exception.<sup>85</sup>

One section of Goering's play has never seen a performance. His 'Satyr' play, designed to be performed in conjunction with *Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scott*, was not published until the year 2000. It is a satyr in the traditional sense of the word, namely 'a humorous piece with a chorus of satyrs that authors in the 5th and 4th centuries BC were expected to append to tragic trilogies offered for competition.'<sup>86</sup> The original drafts of 'Pol', as the play was called whilst in draft stages, included the crossed out remark 'mit einem nachspiel' [with an epilogue], suggesting Goering had the satyr in mind whilst writing the play.<sup>87</sup> However, the satyr itself was not written until the winter of 1930-31, after the premiere of the main work. Entitled *Die Götterbotschaft* and based on the same material, the satyr has Zeus and Hercules arguing over whether Oates and Amundsen are fit to be declared as heroes.<sup>88</sup> Hermes is sent to survey the South Pole and claim it for Zeus, a reference to the patriotic motivations of explorers who desired to claim the continent for their own nations. In his comprehensive study of Goering's work, Robert Chapman Davis highlights the importance of the satyr play in altering perceptions of the main work. By mocking the conquest of Pole, Goering

---

<sup>83</sup> Richter, 'Reinhard Goering'.

<sup>84</sup> Davis, *Final Mutiny: Reinhard Goering, His Life and Art*. 13.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 268.

<sup>86</sup> Margaret Drabble and Jenny Stringer, ed. *The Concise Oxford Companion to English Literature*, Oxford: Oxford university Press, 2007.

<sup>87</sup> Davis, *Final Mutiny: Reinhard Goering, His Life and Art*. 276.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 245.

raises the question of whether the value of discovery is worth the loss of life.<sup>89</sup> The satyr's existence reveals Goering's sense of humour, whilst asking important questions about the premise of the play *Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scott* and what constitutes a hero. Further research could examine Goering's satyr play in more detail.

The adaptation of his final play into an opera was one of the last tasks Goering undertook before committing suicide in 1936. Goering wrote the libretto under the working title *Die Pinguine*, while Winfried Zillig renamed the work *Das Opfer* after composing the music.<sup>90</sup> *Das Opfer* means 'the sacrifice', so the renaming brought a key theme to the fore. The opera premiered in 1937 but the season was cut short after three performances, as the work did not fit with the National Socialist agenda. While the theme of sacrifice was welcomed, the twelve tone music, inspired by Arnold Schönberg,<sup>91</sup> was deemed 'degenerate' and the text was seen to be too 'England friendly'.<sup>92</sup> *Das Opfer* saw a short revival in the late 1950s and early 1960s, with radio broadcasts by Bayerischer Rundfunk in June 1959, Norddeutscher Rundfunk in June and August 1959 and Hessischer Rundfunk in April 1960.<sup>93</sup> The opera was performed live on stage again at the Staatstheater in Kassel on 12 December 1960 but appears to have lain dormant ever since.

Goering's play was the first to present Scott on stage, but many more productions were to come. Manfred Karge's *Die Eroberung des Südpols* (1985) focused on Amundsen's team and saw the story of 'the race to the Pole' grace the German stage once more, while other works have been more oblique. Mojisola Adebayo's *Moj of the Antarctic: An African Odyssey* (2006) is a performance that incorporates audiovisuals taken in Antarctica and draws on its history of exploration to examine ideas of race, gender, sexuality and environment in an Antarctic context. Patricia Cornelius's *Do Not Go Gentle...* (2010) is another non-

---

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 246.

<sup>90</sup> Goering, *Prosa, Dramen, Verse*. 17.

<sup>91</sup> Ulrich Konrad, 'Der Komponist mit dem Januskopf', in *Forschung*, Vol. 33, Issue 3, (October 2008). 11.

<sup>92</sup> Goering, *Prosa, Dramen, Verse*. 17.

<sup>93</sup> Davis, *Final Mutiny: Reinhard Goering, His Life and Art*. 401.

realist play. For Cornelius, experiences of Scott's polar party become metaphors for aging and death and women are cast in some of the roles. While Goering was criticised in the English media during the 1930s for not presenting a true representation of reality, the tide has changed. Texts in the English language have since ceased striving to be realistic and embraced alternative possibilities. It is therefore timely, in this period of anniversaries, to look back on the first representation of Scott on stage and take stock of its Expressionist elements from a modern standpoint.

Some of the most prominent dramatic responses to Scott have been by non-British authors. Examples include Ted Tally's *Terra Nova* (1977) and Douglas Stewart's *Fire on the Snow* (1944). The difference between these texts and Goering's *Südpolexpedition des Kapitän Scott* is that these plays are written in English and, while their authors are further removed from the national context than British playwrights, they are nonetheless steeped in the mythology that surrounds the Scott story. Goering's treatment of the text shows that Scott's aura of heroism was perceived by outsiders but not celebrated in the same way. Themes of destiny, sacrifice, heroism and nationalism are all addressed within Goering's work, with the lauding of the first two leading on to a critique of the second. The play offers new insights into how Scott's final expedition was viewed by foreign contemporaries precisely because it does what the English dared not do in the 1930s and puts Scott on stage.

## Bibliography

- Adebayo, Mojisola. *Moj of the Antarctic: An African Odyssey*, in *Hidden Gems*, Deidre Osborne (ed.), London: Oberon, 2008. 149-90.
- Anon, 'Capt. Scott Play Raises Indignation: His Widow To See it in Berlin. Antarctic Epic. Produced Without her Consent' in *The Daily Chronicle*, 1 March 1930.
- Barczewski, Stephanie, *Antarctic destinies: Scott, Shackleton, and the changing face of heroism*, London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007.
- Capell, Gottfried, *Die Stellung des Menschen im Werk Reinhard Goerings*, Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1967.
- Cornelius, Patricia. *Do Not Go Gentle and The Berry Man*. Strawberry Hills, NSW: Currency Press, 2011.
- Davis, Robert Chapman, *Final Mutiny: Reinhard Goering, His Life and Art*, New York: Peter Lang, 1987.
- Drabble, Margaret and Jenny Stringer, ed. *The Concise Oxford Companion to English Literature.*, Oxford: Oxford university Press, 2007.
- Eben, M.C. 'Attitudes towards self-determination and suicide in the works of Reinhard Goering (1887-1936)' *Neophilologus*, vol. 63, No. 1, (1969): 120-127.
- Eloesser, Arthur, 'Vossische Zeitung' [Review] in *Theater für die Republik 1917-1933: Im Spiegel der Kritik*, Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1967, 1013-1014.
- Falk, Norbert, 'BZ am Mittag' [Review] in *Theater für die Republik 1917-1933: Im Spiegel der Kritik*, Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1967, 1010-1013.
- Goering, Reinhard, *Prosa, Dramen, Verse*, Munich: Georg Müller Verlag, 1961.
- Hill, Claude and Ralph Lay *The Drama of German Expressionism: A German-English bibliography*, New York: AMS Press Inc, 1966 (first printed 1960).
- Heym, Georg. 'Das Tagebuch Shakletons', in *Dichtungen und Schriften*. Vol 2. Hamburg: Heinrich Ellerman, 1962. 124-43.
- Heym, Georg. 'The Travellers to the South Pole', in *The Wide White Page: Writers Imagine Antarctica*, Bill Manhire (ed.), Trans. Gordon Collier. Wellington: University of Victoria, 2004. 87-9.
- Huntford, Roland, *Scott and Amundsen*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979.

Ihering, Herbert, 'Berliner Börsen-Courier' [Review] in *Theater für die Republik 1917-1933: Im Spiegel der Kritik*, Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1967, 1009-1010.

Jones, Max, 'From "Noble Example" to "Potty Pioneer": rethinking Scott of the Antarctic, c.1945–2011' in *The Polar Journal*, 1.2, (November 2011): 191-206.

Jones, Max: 'Scott of the Antarctic: From Hero to Villain?' in *Geographical Magazine*, January 2011, 38-42.

Karge, Manfred. *The Conquest of the South Pole*. Trans. Tinch Minter and Anthony Vivis. London: Menthuen, 1988.

Konrad, Ulrich 'Der Komponist mit dem Januskopf', in *Forschung*, Vol. 33, Issue 3, (October 2008): 10-13.

Kreuzer, Helmut, 'Fatalistischer Heroismus, Willkommener Tod: Reinhard Goering-Miszellen (mit Nachlasszitaten)' in *Studies in German in memory of Robert L. Kahn*, Robert L. Kahn (ed.), Houston: William Marsh Rice University, (1972): 89-110.

Kuhns, David F. *German Expressionist Theatre: The actor and the stage*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Levi, Erik 'Atonality, 12-Tone Music and the Third Reich' in *Tempo*, No. 178, (September 1991): 17-21.

Martin, Dorothy Sue, *The Life and Literature of Reinhard Goering; A Study in Contradictions*, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1969.

Melnitz, William W. 'Aspects of War and Revolution in the Theater and Film of the Weimar Republic' *Hollywood Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Summer 1948): 372-378.

Metzner, Joachim, *Persönlichkeitzerstörung und Weltuntergang* Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1976.

Munz-Krines, Marion *Expeditionen ins Eis: Historische Polarreisen in der Literatur*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008.

Nabokov, Vladimir. 'Polyus', in *The Man from the USSR and Other Plays*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984. 265-83.

Pyne, Stephen J. 'Heart of Whiteness: The Exploration of Antarctica' in *Environmental Review*, Vol, 10, No. 4, (Winter 1986): 231-246.

Pyne, Stephen J. *The Ice: A journey to Antarctica*, Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1986.

Richie, J.M. *German Expressionist Drama*, Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1976.

Richter, Jochen. 'Reinhard Goering.' In *Twentieth-Century German Dramatists, 1889-1918*. Wolfgang Elfe and James N. Hardin (ed.), Detroit: Gale Research, 1992. Dictionary of Literary Biography Vol. 118. *Literature Resource Center*. Web. 30 Jan. 2012.

Rühle, Günter, *Theater für die Republik 1917-1933: Im Spiegel der Kritik*, Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1967.

Scott, Robert Falcon, *Journals: Scott's Last Expedition*, Max Jones (ed.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Skinner, Constance Lindsay, 'The Literature of Polar Exploration' in *The English Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 10, (December 1929): 791-802.

Spufford, Francis, *I May Be Some Time: Ice and the English Imagination*, London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1996.

Stafford, Jane, 'Captain Scott and A.E.W Mason's The Turnstile' in *Imagining Antarctica*, Ralph Crane, Elizabeth Leane and Mark Williams (ed.), Tasmania: Quintus Publishing, 2011.

Stewart, Douglas. *The Fire on the Snow*, in *The Fire on the Snow and The Golden Lover: Two Plays for Radio*. Sydney and London: Angus and Robertson, 1944. 1-42.

Tally, Ted. *Terra Nova*. New York: Dramatists Play Service, 1982 (first pub. 1981).

Ulrich, Konrad, 'Der Komponist mit dem Januskopf', *Forschung*, Vol. 33, No. 3, (2008): 10-13.

Zweig, Stefan, 'Der Kampf um den Südpol' in *Sternstunden der Menschheit: Fünf historische Miniaturen*, Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1927.